

The Intercollegiate Socialist

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The Intercollegiate Socialist

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The object of the INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY, established September 1905, is "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." All present or former students of colleges interested in Socialism are eligible to active membership in the Society. Non-collegians are eligible to auxiliary membership. The annual dues of the Society are \$2, \$5 (contributing membership), \$25 or more (sustaining membership.) The dues of student members-at-large are \$1 a year. Undergraduate Chapters are required to pay 35c. a year per member to the General Society. All members are entitled to receive The Intercollegiate Socialist. Friends may assist in the work of the Society by becoming dues-paying members, by sending contributions, by aiding in the organization and the strengthening of undergraduate and graduate Chapters, by obtaining subscriptions for The Intercollegiate Socialist, by patronizing advertisers, and in various other ways. The Society's Quarterly is 50c. a year, 15c. a copy.

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The Middle West

Intercollegiate Socialist Society has been looking forward to the appointment of an organizer for the Middle West with headquarters in Chicago. It has seemed to the Society that such an important center of population with scores of colleges within a radius of 100 miles should be brought into more definite contact with the work of the I. S. S. than has heretofore been the case and that no one thing would stimulate interest in the work more than the establishment of an office in Chicago. The Society has been fortunate in securing for this position the services of Irwin St. John Tucker.

Mr. Tucker has been active in the Socialist movement for a number of years and is well equipped as a speaker and organizer. From 1902 to 1909 he served on the reportorial staffs of a number of newspapers in the West and South. He subsequently spent four years as a student in the General Theological Seminary of New York, receiving his degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1913. From 1912 to 1914 he served as pastor of the Socialist pulpit at St. Marks'-on-the-Bouwerie in New York and later became editor of the Christian Socialist. He has lectured extensively in colleges, seminaries, schools, before Socialist and labor bodies and in churches—before church conventions, synods, conferences and ministers' meetings in various parts of the country. He is a forceful speaker and his activity is looked forward to as a promise of splendid developments in the colleges of the Middle West. The members and friends of the Society in that part of the country are urged to co-operate with him in every possible way. The address of Mr. Tucker is 803 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

A Good Text Book

The attention of students is again called to the recently published 25-cent edition of "Facts of Socialism," by Dr.

Jessie Wallace Hughan. This book was written especially as a text book for I. S. S. Chapters. It deals with Socialism both as an economic theory and as a practical movement, in a clear, concise and scholarly manner. Each chapter concludes with a number of stimulating questions. Its wide use by chapters, study groups and individual students is cordially recommended. Copies can be purchased from the Society.

Summer Conference

Plans are well under way for the I. S. S. Summer Conference to be held in the fall of 1917. The probable location of the conference will be Bellport, Long Island, the probable time, the middle of September. Further particulars will be given in our next issue. All are urged to cooperate in making this conference even more successful than the inspiring gatherings of the last two years.

Members and Meetings

One of the most effective methods of increasing membership in I. S. S. Chapters is by utilizing every public meeting of the Society for the purpose of calling attention to the purpose and activities of the Society. At each meeting an officer of the Chapter should make a public announcement, before or after introducing the speaker. The speaker should be requested to emphasize to his audience the importance of helping in Chapter activities. Members of the Chapter should be stationed at the doors or in the aisles with membership blanks and every one desirous of joining should be given adequate opportunity to do so. It is hoped that by this means as well as by private persuasion, every Chapter will, before our annual meeting, make a special effort to obtain a record breaking membership.

What Shall be the Foreign Policy of the United States

By Morris Hillquit*

The fact that each modern country maintains official relations with all other countries through accredited representatives shows that they have a well-defined interest in common and in each other. This interest is not purely sentimental. It is primarily economic. The physical, moral and spiritual well-being of the people of Montenegro, Persia or Central Africa furnish engaging topics of our drawing-room conversation, but our investments in Mexico, our trade in South America, and our commercial rivalry with Germany and England are matters of vital and national concern to us. They form the principal subjects of our diplomatic negotiations and international treaties. They shape the foreign policy of our country.

The foreign policy of each country is mainly the foreign business policy of its bankers, merchants and manufacturers as interpreted and adopted by the government. And this branch of statescraft grows more vital and important as industry and commerce assume an ever more international world-wide character.

The modern State is primarily an economic unit. It is not the race, nor the language, nor religion that hold together the people of a nation. Every modern nation represents a mixture of races, a combination of creeds and often a variety of languages.

The bond that holds together the people of each country in the first instance is the community of economic interests, the fact that the country is organized for the production of the necessities of life of its inhabitants. *Ubi pania ibi patria*. This is the prosaic foundation of patriotism. The idealistic superstructures of common culture, common political ideals, common place of birth, common national spirit, etc., grow gradually on the more solid material basis, and always remain

of secondary importance. The men and women of Germany, Ireland, Italy, Russia and Austria, who within the last generation or two have flocked in millions to this country, probably loved the countries of their birth, but when their fatherlands ceased to offer them the means of livelihood, they forsook them for foreign but more promising fields of pasture.

No amount of idealism can blind us to the fact that the nation is in essence an economic unit, and the very origin of modern nations and modern nationalism furnishes conclusive proof of this assertion.

When industry was in its infancy, and was conducted largely on local scope, the numerous petty states of Europe furnished adequate political bases for its operations. But with the growth and expansion of manufacture and commerce the narrow political units of old Europe became insufficient. Large-scale industry required large national units. This was the mainspring of the great nationalistic movements since 1848, and the true cause and sense of the wars of the third quarter of the last century, which resulted in a mighty German Empire, a consolidated Austria-Hungary, a unified Italy and a general readjustment of the map of Europe on national lines.

But now the national political units have in turn become too narrow for the present-day industrial requirements. Banking, manufacture and commerce can no longer be confined within the arena of each separate nation. Modern manufacture operates largely for the world market, modern shipping makes the crops of the world available for world-consumption, modern banking, finances the world-business.

The national geographical boundaries of Europe have become an impediment to the growth and expansion of industry in our days, just as the boundaries of the countless kingdoms and principalities proved an obstacle half a century ago. And as the petty states then

* From address of Mr. Hillquit at the Convention Dinner of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, December 29, in New York City.

were forced to give way to larger units of modern nations, so the nations now are bound to yield to a larger, more modern, more serviceable form of political organization—the Union or Federation of Nations. It is this necessity, working under the surface and largely unperceived, which caused the stress and struggles and convulsion of recent European diplomacy. It is the ultimate cause and the historic sense of this war.

WORLD ORGANIZATION

Whatever may be the immediate and secondary results of the present world war, whatever may be the concrete articles of peace expressed in political terms, the main achievement of the gigantic conflict of nations, the only one calculated to compensate mankind to some extent for its appalling sacrifices, will be mediately or immediately a political world organization. By this I mean not merely a general international treaty with an international Council of Conciliation or Court of Justice with questional powers. I mean an organized international government, with an international parliament based on an equitable system of representation, holding regular and frequent sessions; an international court of justice as part of the general government machinery, and an international constitution which will provide for free trade and intercourse and for the "open door" policy throughout the world as well as for total general disarmament, and which will enforce compliance under pain of excommunication from the union of civilized nations.

When this condition will be reached the problem of foreign policies will be forever solved for this as well as for all other countries, just as the adoption of the Constitution of the United States settled the problems of the separate policies of each of the thirteen original states towards its remaining twelve neighbors. There will be just as little need for each nation to maintain a diplomatic service in other countries, as there is to-day for the State of New York to maintain an Ambassador at Trenton, N. J.

Viewed from the point of this ultimate aim, the duty of the United States is

quite clear—we must give our active and undivided support to the movement for international unification, and we can only note with satisfaction and whole-hearted approval the recent utterances from Washington which indicate an intelligent sympathy with this movement.

OPPOSED TO COMMERCIAL TREATIES

The Federation of Nations is not a remote utopian ideal. On the contrary, I believe that it will be realized in the comparatively near future, and that its foundation will be laid at the conclusion of the present war. Still for the time being it is of the future, "Zukunftsmusik," as the Germans would say.

What shall be our foreign policy to-day and to-morrow?

Fortunately for us the problem is by far not so difficult for the United States as it is for most other modern countries. Our commercial relations with the countries abroad are not vital to the welfare of our nation.

The importance of foreign relations to most nations of Europe arises out of the fact that they are physically incomplete as economic units and that they are compelled to go beyond their boundaries for their necessities. Great Britain produces only a fraction of her food. The balance she must obtain abroad, and to obtain it she must sell a corresponding quantity of manufactured goods. Her imports and exports, her foreign trade and her foreign relations, are matters of general national concern. She must keep the seas open to her ships under pain of starvation. She must have unhampered access to grain-producing and tool-requiring countries. Most other countries of Europe are in somewhat similar predicaments, because they are arbitrarily parcelled out from one continent which, generally speaking, is only self-sufficient as a whole. Almost every European country is compelled to look for some essential to another country, and to get it, it must bargain or—fight.

The United States is economically almost self-sufficient, more so than any other country in the world. Its agriculture and its manufacture are developed

in proper proportion to maintain each other, and the country can produce enough of the essential things of modern life to sustain the entire population without contribution from abroad. If the United States were to-day cut off economically from the rest of the world, we could adjust ourselves to the situation without appreciable change in our mode and standards of life. Our imports are not vital to our national existence, and our exports and foreign investments still less.

I am not arguing for a policy of commercial isolation. I would leave our merchants, manufacturers and bankers engage in foreign trade and investments to their hearts' content, so long as they do not involve the nation or government in quarrels with foreign powers on account of their business dealings. Our foreign trade is and must remain a private concern, conducted at the private risk of our trading classes as it is conducted for their private profit. The nation as such is not interested in it to an extent which would justify the chance of war and bloodshed. And for that reason *our country should not become a party to any commercial treaties with foreign powers at this time.*

Two recent instances of our foreign policy will illustrate this point.

In the palmy days of the Diaz regime a number of American capitalists obtained valuable mining and other concessions in Mexico. They embarked upon the new field of speculation entirely on their own account and for their own advantage, without taking into account the interests of the American people. The government of the United States entered into a treaty with Mexico which among other things provided for guarantees of American property rights in Mexico.

When the Mexican people subsequently rose against their political oppressors and economic exploiters and announced their determination to reclaim their own country for their own people, our American concessionaires had no hesitancy in calling upon our government to enforce its "sacred treaty rights" by military intervention. In other words, the American people, and particularly the American workers, were calmly asked to give

their lives for the individual commercial interests of a group of private capitalists with whose financial fortunes or misfortunes they had not the remotest concern. This interesting episode in our foreign relations is not yet closed.

Another illuminating recent example of commercial diplomacy is furnished by the famous Chinese loan of 1913. In that instance American bankers were invited to participate in a loan about to be made to the new Chinese republic by several national banking groups. A loan much in excess of the requirements of the country was to be forced on it upon the security of its salt monopoly. The expenditure of the loan and the salt monopoly were to be administered by representatives of the bankers. The government of China was thus to surrender a substantial part of its sovereign prerogatives to a group of foreigners in addition to the payment of heavy interests. It required a great stretch of the imagination to discover a beneficial interest for the American people in the participation of a few American banking houses in that loan. Yet the negotiations were carried on in a semi-diplomatic manner. The American bankers asked for the approval of our government, an approval which necessarily would imply a pledge of protection. To the credit of President Wilson be it said that he discountenanced the move, although it is said to have been encouraged by the previous administration.

Another cardinal principle of our foreign policy must be to discard all remnants and semblance of American imperialism. The acquisition of Porto Rico and particularly the Philippine Islands by our government was a most useless and senseless political adventure. These proud "outlying possessions" of ours are of no earthly benefit to the people of the United States, but are a standing menace to the peace and tranquility of the country. Porto Rico should be speedily given complete independence, and the Philippines should be resold at a bargain price if need be.

And finally the Monroe Doctrine must be materially relaxed and ultimately altogether abandoned. I know the average American regards the doctrine with that superstitious reverence which attaches to

all time-honored national traditions. But that reverence is only a superstition. The conditions which may have justified its promulgation in the days of President Monroe no longer exist. The slogan "America for the Americans" had a deep significance at a period when the western hemisphere was in the process of settlement. The true modern version of the slogan is: "Central and South American business for the capitalists of the United States."

The Monroe Doctrine as it has gradually come to be interpreted implies an undemocratic and unwarrantable assumption of a United States protectorate over all other American republics, an assumption in which neither these republics nor any foreign powers have ever acquiesced. It adds nothing to our safe-

ty, but contains dangerous germs of potential international conflicts.

In the condition of acute crisis which is now convulsing the world, the United States must adopt one of the two possible policies in its foreign relations. It may lend the powers of our government to the support of our trading classes in their efforts to secure a slice of the world-market, and frankly embark upon a policy of imperialism and militarism, or it must definitely keep out of all international business quarrels and take its stand as a non-combatant friend of all nations, the logical promoter of universal peace and the brotherhood of nations.

This is no time for hesitancy or vacillation. The issue is clear. We will have to travel by one road or the other. There is no third.

The Monroe Doctrine—Its Democratization

By John Spargo*

In his very interesting and suggestive address, my good friend and colleague, Mr. Hillquit, dwelt at some length upon our national economic self-sufficiency, our freedom from dependence upon other nations for the necessities of life, and our consequent ability to live in complete isolation. As I listened, I could not help feeling that, nevertheless, for nations as well as for individuals such isolation is impossible. Long, long ago it was observed with profound wisdom and truth that "no man liveth unto himself alone," and it is likewise profoundly true that no nation can live unto itself alone. For good or ill the destinies of mankind are inextricably interwoven. It is not possible for a hundred millions of people to occupy a large part of the globe, and to possess a large part of the riches of the world, without establishing relations with the rest of mankind of the utmost possible importance.

Of the portion of the earth which we inhabit, and of its vast treasures, we are, I take it, trustees. If we attempt to isolate ourselves, selfishly, to monopolize the

vast gifts and opportunities over which we have authority, we shall invite the envy and hatred of those whom we exclude, and ultimately their determination to wrest them from us. No! We are interdependent. There is no isolation for us. If, because of a fancied economic self-sufficiency, we attempt to ignore the claims of the rest of mankind and insist upon a narrow and selfish monopoly of our gifts and opportunities, whether through high tariffs or immigrant exclusion laws, for example, we shall find ourselves the object of envy, resentment and hate, and soon or late embroiled in war. There is no isolation for any nation. That, I take it, is one of the cardinal principles of a sound Socialist international policy.

I have been asked to speak upon the Monroe Doctrine, but I ask your indulgence for another prefatory word. For reasons which I need not here enlarge upon, but which are perfectly well understood, we are not accustomed to serious and intelligent study of foreign policies. Events of great importance are often treated with indifference. Take the projected purchase from Denmark of the group of islands known as the Dan-

*Address of Mr. Spargo at the convention dinner.

ish West Indies: I have been painfully disappointed that no word in opposition to the purchase has come from our Socialist Congressman. Why are we to purchase the islands? For no earthly purpose except to provide a naval base. The purchase is but another link in the long chain of naval and military expansion, and is bound to be regarded as a threat by other great nations. I have been more disappointed than I can say that there has been no opposition to the sale by the powerful Social Democratic Party of Denmark. So long as Denmark retains the islands they are necessarily to all interests and purposes neutralized as surely as if they were under an international government. Sold to any great power, they become another link in the chain of militarism, another provocative of war.

In discussing the Monroe Doctrine one treads on dangerous ground. It is not too much to say that no single principle of our political life, no characteristic political institution, is regarded with quite the same reverence. To criticize it is to invite rebuke; to assail it is to invite the taunt of being a coward and a traitor. Nevertheless, I venture to believe the time has come to proclaim that the Monroe Doctrine, in its late development, is mischievous, full of peril, and ought to be abandoned.

During the rather hysterical agitation for increased military and naval "preparedness" which preceded the late presidential election, we were again and again told that a vastly bigger army and navy must be provided if the sacred Monroe Doctrine is to be preserved. I am disposed to agree to that, and to concede that we can only maintain that doctrine as the basis of our foreign relations by means of a vast aggregation of brute force. As it is understood to-day by the capitalist class of America, the Monroe Doctrine is a constant menace to the peace of the world, a standing invitation to war.

When the Pan-American Congress was welcomed to Washington by Mr. Lansing, then Acting Secretary of State, he was replied to by the representative of Chile, if my memory serves me aright. The keynote of that reply was the profound disappointment of the nations of

Central and South America, republics like ourselves let it be remembered, that the United States expressed no intention of democratizing the Monroe Doctrine and bringing it into accord with present day needs, of expanding it into a democratic confederation of American republics.

As it has come to be understood, the Monroe Doctrine establishes a protectorate by the United States over all the other American republics. Not in their interests, nor at their request, but in our own interest and of our own will, we have virtually established a protectorate over the entire continent. In face of the fact that sovereignty is held over a large part of the continent by great nations like Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Colombia, and the rest, we have presumed to assert that their destiny shall be subject to our supervision, that the destiny of the entire continent must be determined by us. That is oligarchic and despotic; it is not democratic, but imperialistic. It is of the very essence of empire.

This oligarchic and imperialistic doctrine is perhaps the greatest single source of danger of warlike attack to which we are likely to be exposed at any time in the near future. The capitalist system is not destined to pass away very soon. It will last for some time to come. The laws of social evolution preclude the hope that the vast area of the republics of South and Central America, with their abundant and magnificent natural resources, will escape exploitation by the capitalists of other lands. Unless we abandon the Monroe Doctrine as it is now understood, in favor of a policy of common action by all the republics of the continent, acting together as equals, we shall find ourselves involved in war. For more and more the Monroe Doctrine is being interpreted to mean "A monopoly of opportunity to exploit Central and South American economic resources for United States capital."

Truly, the time has come for us Socialists to protest against this antiquated and dangerous doctrine! It is best for us, however, to adopt a constructive policy with regard to it, rather than a policy of destruction and negation. We shall not go very far by calling simply for the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine.

We may go far by urging its modernization and democratization. Instead of urging that it be cast aside, placed in the dusty museum of political antiquities, we shall be wiser and far more likely to succeed if we urge the need of its reconstruction. The time is ripe for such a reconstruction.

We have heard from Mr. Hillquit once again of the great and august conception of a Federation of the World. Such, we may well believe, is the goal to which our poor humankind is blindly staggering

through all the blood and travail of the centuries. But world federation will not come all at once, full-grown. It must emerge gradually. Meantime, here on this continent, we have the elements ready for a great federation of republics. Indeed, a beginning has been made. The reconstruction of the Monroe Doctrine into a democratic federation of fraternal and equal nations acting together for the common good is immediately practicable. As a step toward a Federation of the World its importance is obvious.

A New Policy for the Far East

By Gardner L. Harding

Author of "Present Day China"

We are approaching the climax of the greatest war in history. And we are approaching as surely the most determined and universal effort the world will yet have seen to relegate war among such pestilential antiquities as religious conviction by torture, chattel slavery, and the conquistador theory of our relations with the undiscovered nations of the world.

This conquistador theory still remains with us under the veneer of expanding capitalism. It stultified and laid prostrate the richest economic prize of last century: the Turkish Empire. And round that strategic centre, it concentrated the selfish rivalries of Europe. The drift of competing gouges in the empire provided the underlying temptation, if it did not provide the immediate cause, of the lapse from European civilization to which the world has come. The earth is owned by and divided among the restless and greedy white races; but the economic development of its weaker nations still provides an incentive, and will continue to provide an incentive as long as capitalism lasts, for the fighting trade jealousies which grow and feed on the bitterness of their own intensifying rivalries—to the point of risking mutual extermination through universal war.

If Socialists and pacifists are going to be prepared to take the vast construc-

tive movement toward peace at the flood, they must put aside the sentimental, armament-reducing schemes and anti-patriotic dogmas, which are after all merely inconsiderable by-products of the actual danger we will face then in the same manner as we are facing it now. The actual danger is the presence of the unfenced, undefended cock-pits themselves, still open for more gouging rivalries, still leading on to reckless and secret misunderstandings; and to war. There are more than one of these breeding grounds of trouble in the world; there is one at our very doors, in Mexico! But overshadowing all the others in the richness of its economic future, in the helplessness of its people to avert the disaster of their own accord, and in the advanced stage already attained by the cancerous growth of foreign overlapping encroachments, stands the Chinese Republic.

This is the reason why every wide-awake American should blow the dust off of that part of his geography which shows the map of China. This vast, un-military nation, just emerging into the adolescence of modern government, is the vastest storehouse of virgin economic energy still remaining on this globe. Her coal and iron are sufficient alone to last the world for a thousand years at the present rate of consumption. She has been gouged mercilessly

by all the world's great powers for more than fifty years. She is drifting steadily toward the wretched and tragic goal of final dissolution; but like Turkey, she will take her revenge in such a case by being the fulcrum of an international rivalry as bitter as the stakes are huge. As now in the Balkans, so then in the Far East, war will be the only way these rivalries can take to adjust the disposal of so enormous a prize; and the war that is thus threatening will be as much greater than the present horror as our resources will be spent with the more murderous experience.

There is only one way this deadly drift can be arrested and prevented. That is by the encouragement of the Chinese toward the rehabilitation of their country. By a great burst of constructive patriotism last year and the year before, the Chinese Republican government choked the spectre of bankruptcy by paying every foreign debt (including the usual millions of dead-weight indemnity charges) and every national charge on the government and closing the year with a substantial sum of cash in hand. This is the first mark of the spiritual change wrought by the Chinese revolution. China can no longer be trusted to become the world's pauper through her own sluggishness and stupidity. With this solid assurance that she is trying to help herself, America should join with the liberal powers of Europe in making a specific and separate part of the peace settlement following the war with a firm but honorable guardianship of China's integrity and independence. The anarchy of separate grabs which will inevitably lead to war must finally give way to a solemn international compact not only that there will be no more grabs in China, but that such grabs as are in foreign hands must come to the inevitable show down—justice and restitution.

If Japan does not assent to such an international responsibility, but claims sole responsibility over China for herself, then this country, and the liberal nations of Europe will be up against a grave problem. Japan's vast, autocratic, jingoistic industrialism, flushed with the economic conquest of China,

and exploiting that limitless power for the benefit of its own marvelous system of aggressive and ambitious imperialism will constitute a danger to the world's liberal civilization far greater—because far more extreme in the ways in which it is most distorted and harmful—than that which Germany is so bitterly accused by the Allies of being to Western Europe.

But I believe Japan will assent to it. You have only to hear fairly and honestly from the Japanese themselves what they are after in the Far East to be convinced that their seeming arrogance and aggression is at least three-quarters self-defence. The Japanese carry on their life against a background of the most ruthless diplomacy the world has ever seen. That is the diplomacy of Europe, as practiced on China, from which Japan herself only escaped by a tremendous burst of militant self-respect. Her self-sufficiency has bankrupted her for still a generation to come; but if she hadn't developed it, she would herself be where China is to-day. And at the very moment we are apprehensive that Japan is planning aggression in China on the worst precedents of the evil old days, we are somehow utterly oblivious of the fact that these same evil days are with us still, and it is European nations in the Far East who are perpetuating them. Only the other day, France, to whose gallant stand in the war the sentiment of this nation has gone out as to no other cause—France put into practice as raw an offence on China as one could well conceive. She wanted the lease of another piece of land in Tientsin, and on China's dignified refusal, the liberal minded Quai d'Orsay ordered the place occupied with French troops. Fortunately for France, the Chinese police withdrew peaceably; a fight would have been a very hard thing to explain. It was simply a case, as in historical examples of Chinese objections in the past, of knocking China down and picking her pockets.

If Japan has usurped Manchuria, Russia has seized Mongolia and England has kindly taken care of Thibet. Germany seized Shantung, and France has made the microcosm of an empire out of pieces of Indo-China she tore

from Chinese sovereignty. And these territorial gouges, though they reduce the area of China almost by half, are only the lesser part of the story. The intrigues over the Six Power loan clearly laid bare the settled plan of the European powers to establish a protectorate over China so similar to the one in Turkey that "Turkification" became one of the unquenchable rallying-cries of Young China. We Americans, in spite of President Wilson's self-denying policy in getting out of the loan, were laying ourselves out to get our full share of the spoils. Our shares were economic spoils—the Standard Oil's monopoly of the western oil fields (which the Chinese avoided by completely out-manœuvring our more simple centurions of industry) being a particular case in point. Our tobacco trust, though expelled from Japan, has almost as firm a monopoly of the fabulously expanding trade in China, and has won it by identically the same means, as it has control of the situation at home. American business men are as unscrupulous in their field as European diplomats are in theirs: the Japanese know it, for they have copied most of our methods at first hand.

The pressure on China is universal pressure; and if there is to be any relaxation, it must be a general relaxation. The Japanese will be the last to oppose such a move. They have the most to gain from the peaceable development of a free and guaranteed China. They have the most to lose from being known to the Chinese as their principal aggressor. Already, after gaining steadily for ten years, mostly by tremendous strides, the Japanese have seen their trade fall off during the past year with China by over a million dollars. Liberal and patriotic China has drawn on that oldest and most irresistible of her peaceful weapons—the boycott. It has infinite possibilities. It convinced the Japanese long ago that while they might conquer the Chinese in three months, they could not ever govern her against her will. They cannot even colonize successfully among the Chinese, for apart from China's bitterness of the present, her ancient credit system, her instincts of collective bargaining, and her unassailable cheap

living are eternal barriers against the competition on the same ground of all Japan's cunning and system and modernity.

We Americans can initiate such a partnership, then, though we cannot go it alone, either with Japan or any other single power. Treaties after this war must be interdependent treaties, bottomed on the democratic sentiment of the world, and not on any one or two national interests. The Chinese question is beyond any question the pre-eminent world question on which the possibility of such treaties may be most thoroughly tested. If that question isn't worth settling, no question arising out of the war is worth settling, for in none of them are there such massive potentialities for future trouble.

That is the new American Far Eastern policy. It is the Open Door, stripped of its aggressive meaning, and guaranteed by the world's constructive awakening to the war-breeding possibilities of any other settlement in eastern Asia. America must be ready to contribute liberally to such an understanding. The first condition of her entering into it must be that she shall set a term on her ownership of the Philippines, which are to-day nothing more or less than a military perch for our prompt aggression in the Far East when the time for that aggression shall come. The only way we can signify to the world—and to Japan in particular—that that time will never come, will be to set them free; and in so doing we will do nothing more spectacular than take a small nation which aspires to liberty at its word. We can leave Japan's ambitions in the Islands to the concert of nations which guarantees the integrity of China.

We must further cement our position in such a concert by wiping the race prejudice blot off from our Pacific relations. Japan has lived up to the exclusion of her people from this country, even though she, through the Gentleman's Agreement, was made the administrator of that exclusion. We should at once do two things: acknowledge our appreciation of her honorable conduct, and abolish the stigma of race inferiority we put upon her by refusing to admit Japanese who learn our

language and appreciate our institutions to the rights of American citizenship. Once we make this problem a Federal, and not a Californian question, we can evolve a plan whereby Japanese and Chinese are admitted on a plan graduated as to the number admitted according to the assimilation into American life attained by those already here. The means are of no importance; the crucial thing is that we establish in our law some satisfactory means of admitting Asiatics to an honest test of the possibility of their becoming Americanized. We don't intermarry with the Turks; but we freely let them in. This isn't a case of intermarriage, a biological point on which we have no real knowledge at all. It is a case of decent treatment, an admission of race equality only modified by the difficulties of assimilation with a race of as honorable traditions as ourselves. Perhaps Japanese and Chinese can't become "Americanized." But for the sake of friendly relations in the Pacific, let us decide that point after rather than before a trial.

Fair treatment between America and Japan, and between the western world and Japan will have one very desirable result, a result for which the world has waited for more than a generation. As soon as the Japanese feel the halter of aggressive Europe off their necks we shall see a development of Japanese liberalism which, in very self defence, the Japanese people have been obliged to crush and choke down during the whole

period of their early greatness. The huge, autocratic machine which has made modern Japan a perfect miniature of the mailed fist is by no means a witness to Japan's sterility to liberal ideas, any more than Japan's grinding industrialism is the unfolding of her soul before the acts of civilization. We of European blood presented Japan with those means of defending herself, and we cannot blame her if she uses them, with an edge to them, due to her own sense of self-preservation. Turkey, Persia and China have experimented with liberal ideas in government: look at them now. Japan is looking at them; and she prefers standing armies, government by autocracy, and industrialism unhampered by social reform. Can we blame her? But release the pressure on her, and Japanese idealism, now used to preach loyalty and war, will find the room to reach out into national service before her overarmed state crushes her people of its own weight. We Socialists particularly owe it to the Eastern world to stimulate these things directly; to encourage Japanese social reform, and to help Japanese liberals overthrow the terrible race of Gradgrinds which are crushing the life out of the Japanese poor. But we can do most by relieving the pressure which makes these things possible; nay, inevitable. Drive the white peril out of China, and Japan will readjust herself to the New Open Door; for the new open door guarantees her security as well as China's.

The Australian Conscription Referendum

By Vance Palmer

The referendum which has just been held in Australia is probably the most interesting experiment that has ever been made in political democracy. At a time when a great deal is being said about the undemocratic control of foreign policy this instance of a whole people being called upon to decide how they will carry out a foreign war stands out vividly. The question put to the country by the Government in power was this:

"Are you in favor of the Government having, in this grave emergency, the same compulsory power over citizens in regard to requiring their military service, for the term of the war, outside the Commonwealth as it now has in regard to military service within the Commonwealth?"

And the people by a decisive majority answered in the negative.

In considering the verdict it must be remembered that the Australian people

are accustomed to the idea of conscription, and that the Commonwealth Defence Act, which provides for the compulsory training of all young men under twenty-five, and the calling-out of all men between eighteen and sixty, has their firm support. Compulsory military training has been in operation for some years, and its principle has never received any weighty criticism. The strong objection to conscription which, before the war, was such a marked feature of English political life, had no counterpart in Australia, and the machinery for organizing the system was well established, so that there would have been no great revolution in the national life. But there was held to be a sharp difference between service at home and abroad, and now that a majority of the people have confirmed this view, even in the present extraordinary crisis, the distinction will probably be more firmly marked than ever.

The decision of the Australian people proves to be more emphatic when the special circumstances are considered. Out of a population of barely 5,000,000 people, Australia has contributed about 300,000 men to the forces of the Allies, and it was not proposed to create any fresh units, but merely to keep up a regular supply of reinforcements by means of compulsion. The definite promise was made by the Prime Minister that the full powers asked for would not be used and that only single men would be compelled to serve abroad, while even among these there would be liberal exemptions, such as for only sons, for men who had a majority of their brothers serving, and for workers in essential industries. As the number to whom compulsion could be applied was thus necessarily small the matter was clearly one of principle, and a majority of the people denied the Government the right to send men abroad against their will.

The result is a shattering blow to the Prime Minister (Mr. Hughes) who had staked nearly everything on the issue. He had come back from Europe with an enhanced personal prestige, for though a large section of the community resented some of his utterances in Great Britain, thinking he was impairing the autonomy of the Common-

wealth by trespassing into the realms of purely British affairs, it cannot be denied that the notoriety he gained in Europe and the part he played in the Paris Conference gave an added power to his name. Moreover, he had always been regarded as a capable administrator, possessed of both intellect and energy. By his shipping purchases, in which he acquired for the Commonwealth a large number of steamers at a time when there was a lack of tonnage to carry overseas the surplus wheat, he earned the applause of the whole nation, even of those people who had not approved of his dallying with ideas for closer Imperial organization.

It was felt, then, that when he came back from England it was with something of the prestige of a conqueror, and he was given an enthusiastic reception. He soon let it be known, however that he was in favor of compulsion for service abroad, and though his own Labor Government did not support him in this policy, compromise was effected on the basis of submitting his proposals to a popular referendum. Mr. Hughes's own attitude was quite definite. He said that he had received a request from the British Army War Council for 16,500 men a month, a number far in excess of the average voluntary enlistments, and that he would work for conscription as he had never worked in his life. By his energy in canvassing the country he backed up his words, and he had at his disposal the press, the majority of pulpits, and the resources of government (which under the War Precautions Act were very large indeed). Added to this he had the support of the bulk of politicians, both Labor and Liberal, in the various States, only one Government, that of Queensland, taking the platform against him. For bitterness of feeling and intensity of interest the contest had no parallel in Australia. Outside influences were used freely, and messages were read from such prominent persons as Sir Douglas Haig, General Joffre, and M. Briand, which seemed to emphasize the necessity for reinforcements for Australian troops in the field.

The result illustrates the power of the trade-unions in Australia and the

lack of weight carried by the Press and the politicians. Two years of war have not increased the authority of government and there is evident a marked distrust of adding to its scope and power. The struggle against conscription was mainly fought with the organization of the trade-unions (as distinct from the political Labor Parties) and in the absence of an independent press in Australia their campaign was carried out almost entirely on the public platform. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of the contest, especially in Australia where all political issues have an economic basis, was the way the two opposing groups ranged themselves in direct opposition to their immediate material interests. Those supporting conscription were largely the possessing classes who had most to lose by the shortage of labor and the diminution of production that a wholesale deportation of men would mean; the wage-earners opposing conscription, on the other hand, would have directly benefited by a combing-out of the labor market and a consequent rise in wages. Ultimate events might have reversed these considerations, of course, but one does not look for long views at election-time, and

the criss-cross of economic interests merely shows that the issue at stake was less a material one than a fundamental principle.

And the result seems to prove that a modern democracy will not sanction the compulsion of men to bear arms except in the immediate defence of the State against invasion. It is true the Conscriptionists argued that the frontiers of Australia were in France, but that was a proposition that could be contested. And the right of the State to make its final claim on its citizens can only be exercised in circumstances which admit of no argument, that is in circumstances where the State is in immediate military danger. The view that popular view that the State cannot be imperilled by what happens aboard corresponds with strategic facts is another question. Australia is so isolated that the matter is clearer for her than for most other countries.

Yet it must not be understood that her decision of the question of conscription implies any slackening in her prosecution of her part of the war. The referendum merely decided the principle on which she would continue to participate.

Jottings from the I. S. S. Convention

With the ending of the Eighth Annual Convention the Intercollegiate Socialist Society has passed another inspiring event in its history. The most impressive feature of the Convention was, perhaps, the annual dinner of Friday night, December 29th, attended by nearly 500 collegians, at which the foreign policy of the United States was discussed and a world federation and the democratization of the Monroe Doctrine urged.

Miss Scudder's Remarks

Professor Vida D. Scudder, of Wellesley, was chairman of the meeting. Professor Scudder, in her intensely interesting introductory address, spoke of Socialism as the great constructive

force in the world to-day. She said in part:

"Surely there never was a time, surely there never was so great a need, for thinking internationally, for turning our minds toward the great world problems. The shock of August, 1914, is still a vital thing in our minds and hearts. It is forcing us to demand not only strong, but clear, thinking. There was never such need for definite and clear intellectual activity directed toward the larger questions of international politics.

"We Socialists modestly feel that we have a great contribution to make to such thinking, not that we are the only people that are thinking wisely and internationally, but we do feel that many of our old ideas are profoundly corroborated by the catastrophe that has overtaken the world. I think we can not point out too often that in that catastrophe the radicals have had no share; that they are in no sense responsible for it. On the other hand, the tragedy under which the world, to-day,

is agonizing, is the distinct, logical, inevitable out-working of a capitalistic social order. Mars and Mammon, the two minions of capitalism, are together overshadowing the world, and we radicals, who were supposed, five years ago, to be the menacing force, the revolutionary force which everyone feared, are to-day recognized as holding a constructive ideal that may be the only hope for the future.

"If the events of the last three years mean anything they mean that the radical has been gathering intellect and impetus ever since 1848. This date is now placed in a new light. It is seen, henceforth, not as a destructive, but as a constructive power. This, I believe, is perhaps so great a change that it is worth all the terrible object lesson that we are experiencing.

"But it brings with it, of course, a great responsibility; it means the necessity of pressing our own thought home more actively into the thought of the world. It means clearing our own minds, developing our own powers, if we are to seem to have contributed a little toward this power of international thinking.

"A few years ago one who attempted to expound the Socialist theory was met with the question, 'What would become of the incentive?' And the declaration, 'That if people were equal to-day they would be unequal tomorrow.' Those were profound thoughts which one doesn't hear so much of to-day. We have gone through a pretty long process indeed. There were many fundamental, basic principles about which the Socialists of various schools disagreed. To-night we are going to think about Europe and about China which is so marvelously democratic at the base, and so curiously feudal and reactionary at the summit of her social structure. And we are going to think about Mexico, because she appeals to us especially on account of our intimate relations with her. I have just been reading the history of Mexico and have wished that I had known before what I have only just come to realize what magnificent thinking has gone into the social and economic development of Mexico. The enlightened thinking that appeared way back in 1814, that shone through the constitution of 1847, and even to the revolution of 1910, was advanced by most magnificent men. We all realize that the revolution in Mexico in many ways, is working in a direction familiar to us Socialists, a direction which we applaud; a direction of land reform; of increased education. And there arises that most difficult question as to why the United States does not owe proper protection to her own citizens whose lives are unsafe in Mexico. Here we are faced by a dilemma, where we have to realize that very honorable idealistic and statesmanlike thinking may be ranged on either side."

The speakers of the evening were Morris Hillquit, Gardner L. Harding and John Spargo. Their remarks, with

a few additions, appear elsewhere in this issue.

The Undergraduate and the I. S. S.

From the standpoint of the development of the I. S. S., the repeatedly expressed hope on the part of the delegates that the undergraduates be made to feel, even more than formerly, their opportunities for service in the upbuild of the Society, was of particular interest.

Devere Allen, a member of the recently formed Students' Council from the Middle West, was the first to discuss the enlarged responsibilities which he believed should devolve on undergraduates in the carrying on of I. S. S. work, in his Friday morning talk on "The Functions of the Student Council." He emphasized the suggestions made by a number of students that the members of the Students' Council assist in the organization and strengthening of I. S. S. Chapters in the vicinity of their colleges; that they be called on to write articles for the magazine and that they be asked their advice on more of the problems confronting the Society.

The idea of organizing a speakers' bureau in each state was also urged. The opinions of Robt. W. Dunn of Yale, of G. E. Cunningham of Beloit, and others, were read.

Wm. B. Spofford, of Berkeley Divinity, urged that the undergraduates be given more tasks to perform at the Convention, as well as throughout the year.

The Organizing Secretary, in explaining the manner of election of the members of the new Council, declared that an effort had twice been made to get the students to nominate members, this nomination to be followed by election. These efforts, however, had been unsuccessful, and in order that the Students' Council idea might not die, the Executive Committee finally did the selecting; but he declared that it was the desire of the Committee to have the Council elected by the undergraduates. He expressed his delight at the request of the undergraduate delegates to function more effectively in

the extension of the work of the I. S. S. and urged that all send in their suggestions.

The question as to how the individual members of the I. S. S. might function in the Socialist and labor movement was then discussed by Alexander Trachtenberg, formerly president of the Yale Chapter. The impression left on some of those present by Mr. Trachtenberg's remarks that the I. S. S. Chapters as such engage in propaganda work led to vigorous reply from Delegates Rauschenbusch of Amherst, Gerber of Cornell, and Liebstein of C. C. N. Y. Mr. Rauschenbusch declared that there is too much sneering at the idea of the merely academic in studies and that the students should beware of developing in college only the "one-tracked-mind." Mr. Gerber emphasized the fact that the I. S. S. was primarily for study and not for propaganda, and Mr. Liebstein asserted that it was not wasting time to concentrate on mere theories, that one must get a clear idea of the theory of Socialism while in college in order to be able to function most intelligently after graduation. Harry L. Janeway of Rutgers discussed the method of increasing the membership of undergraduate Chapters. He declared:

"At the beginning of the year we sent to every student printed letters calling attention to the work of the I. S. S. and urging them to join the Chapter. It is desirable that the Chapters try to reach incoming freshmen before they are monopolized by other organizations. These letters should be followed by a well advertised public lecture and by personal talks with prospective members."

Study Meetings

Evelyn Salzman, of Barnard, in introducing the discussion regarding the method of conducting study meetings, told of the difficulty of holding such meetings at colleges in the midst of large cities. She declared:

"It is infinitely harder to get students to come regularly to study meetings than to attend occasional lectures. We have had evening discussion meetings which have combined sociability and recreation with intellectual discussion and which dealt with the most mooted phases of Socialism. These, unfortunately, have not been largely attended. Our biggest lack has been the absence of non-Socialists

who would give to the discussion the controversial character which would make it most stimulating."

Mr. Liebstein, of C. C. N. Y., said that at his college the club was able with little difficulty to gather 40 or more students to the various study meetings during the noon period. He said:

"We have someone read a paper, which is followed by a three minute discussion in which those present are urged to participate. We have found the meetings most enthusiastic and valuable."

Mr. Laidler dealt with the unfortunate lack of college gatherings in American universities where big national and international problems were thrashed out. He believed that study meetings would gradually become more popular if the members discussed those phases of Socialism that gave rise to the greatest controversies among the undergraduates, if they saw to it that the pros and cons of the subject were presented; if they made an effort to have every member of the group participate in the discussion; if they arranged the program as long beforehand as possible, attempted to make the first papers of the year of a high standard, and kept on improving the program until it became of thrilling interest to all those who attended.

Public Meetings

Morris R. Werner, of Columbia, in describing the manner in which Columbia conducted public meetings, spoke of the value of getting speakers of good publicity value. He felt that it was oftentimes more important to induce a large audience of non-Socialists to listen to a somewhat spectacular talk and get used to hearing the word "Socialism" than it was to attract a small audience of Socialists to a more scientific talk. Mr. Liebstein, of C. C. N. Y., exhibited a number of admirable posters advertising public meetings which the members of that Chapter prepared, and told of the fine crowds which attended I. S. S. gatherings.

The method in which I. S. S. Chapters might co-operate with other organizations was dealt with by G. A. Gerber, of Cornell. He told of the plan in his alma mater of federating with

the International Polity and other clubs for the purpose of obtaining the best speakers, of increasing the audience, and of financing the meetings. He also emphasized the desirability of having on the executive committee of the club representatives from the four classes of the college body, so that the graduation of the senior class would not leave the club officer-less.

Felix Grendon gave a thoughtful talk on research work. He declared that there had been too much devotion to the past in much of our Socialist discussion and too little devotion to living things of the present. He spoke of the need of conscientious scientific research regarding present day conditions and tendencies and said that the young collegians could function in the whole social movement most effectively by scientific research work.

The Undergraduate and the Summer Conference

A talk full of enthusiasm concerning "The Undergraduate and the Summer Conference" was given by Theresa Wolfson, of Adelphi. She said, in part:

"I spent some of the happiest moments of my life in Sherwood Forest. The intellectual discussions, the hikes and talks, presented a wonderful week, a week full of delightful and pleasant memories. It is only now that I have been able to separate, as it were, the wheat in the intellectual discussion from the chaff. No undergraduate who was present could help but feel the inspiration of the conference and the fact that the collegiate youth of the country was in part responsible for carrying forth social ideals which would lead to the reconstruction of present-day society."

The problem of the theological school and the I. S. S. was ably discussed by William B. Spofford, of Berkeley Divinity School.

"Many of us as undergraduates," he said, "felt that the world was in greatest need of the spiritual. Many of us, however, have now come to realize that so long as the present wrong commercial system survives, it is difficult for mankind to be moral and that a change in the social system is essential to the highest development."

In dealing with what undergraduates can do for the I. S. S., Mr. Spargo

declared that the prompt remittance of membership dues and replies to communications are signs of the integrity of a Chapter, and urged the loyal observation of the purposes of the Society, that of study rather than political propaganda.

The I. S. S. and the Faculty

Paul H. Douglas, instructor of economics at the University of Illinois, spoke on "The Faculty and the I. S. S." He urged the students to get a large number of members of the faculties interested in the Chapters. He said:

"The presence of faculty members will help the Society, and the faculty themselves. Professors could help the students to lay down a more closely articulated program. The programs of the study Chapters should be made more stimulating. They are too miscellaneous. They deal with subjects from the class struggle in antiquity to the latest garment workers' strike. Many of our clubs should also be purged of the idea of craving after the spectacular speakers who will draw large crowds. Three or four earnest students listening to a scientific address are often better than four or five hundred. The club should beware of the 'Washington Square attitude.'

"The presence of professors in clubs will make it more difficult for the college to oust these clubs. It will give serious minded students more respect for them. At Columbia the presence of three members of the faculty on an advisory board to O. K. proposed speakers, saved the day for the Chapter. Inasmuch as the professor generally stays in college longer than does the student, the life of the Chapter, with professors as advisers, is likely to be longer and its health more vigorous. There has been a big change in the attitude of members of the faculty toward Socialism during the last ten years. The club should pick out conservative members of the faculty and get them interested in Socialism as well as the more progressive members. The advantage is not wholly one sided. Members of the faculty will derive a benefit from joining the club. Progressive members who are constantly trying to liberalize the minds of the students will be strengthened and heartened."

Mr. Douglas spoke of the situation at the University of Illinois, where two members of the faculty who were Rhodes scholars returned from Oxford filled with the new social vision and by means of their agitation have made a deep impression on the faculty. From 20 to 30 now call themselves Socialists. Ten members are members of the Socialist local in town.

Mr. Spargo told of the good work that interested members of the faculty were doing at Ohio State and elsewhere. Mr. Trachtenberg, although he spoke of the desirability of having faculty members on the advisory committee, warned the clubs against leaving the initiative to the faculty.

Among the other special talks was that of Evans Clark on "The I. S. S. and the Young Alumni."

Reports of Delegates

At the Thursday afternoon meeting at Miss Stokes's Studio, 90 Grove Street, reports of delegates were given from different colleges. Helen Phelps Stokes, chairman of the Convention Committee, called the meeting to order. J. G. Phelps Stokes, president of the Society, presided. Harry W. Laidler, the Organizing Secretary, read the report of progress during the past year, appearing elsewhere in this issue.

John Spargo told of the inspiration that he obtains from his trips among the colleges, and Rose Pastor Stokes made a few remarks concerning her Southern trip.

Middle Atlantic States

From the Middle Atlantic State colleges there were numerous reports. Jacob Liebshtein, of C. C. N. Y., told of the struggle that the Chapter had had during the past year or two to continue its existence against the opposition of the trustees and of its present position as one of the chief undergraduate organizations. He said:

"During the last year there has been an increase of thirty per cent in membership and of about two hundred per cent in attendance at public meetings, and numbers of professors are anxiously awaiting their turn to lecture before the society. During the past months the Chapter has had Florence Kelley, Gardner L. Harding, M. Applebaum and other speakers, and is planning for lectures by Senator La Fontaine, Samuel Untermyer, Morris Hillquit and Edwin Markham."

He told of the enjoyable Soiree held immediately preceding the Christmas holidays and of the promise for the future.

Miss Fineman, of Barnard, said that one of the difficulties met with in her

Chapter was that those interested were not so well equipped as they should be to present strong arguments in behalf of Socialism. She spoke of successful meetings, with Juliet S. Poyntz, Professor Harry Overstreet, the Organizing Secretary, and of proposed meetings with John Haynes Holmes and Miss Emilie Hutchinson as speakers. Morris R. Werner, of Columbia, described the meetings with Messrs. Fitzgerald, Walling, Harding and Harris as speakers. He regretted the fact that it was very difficult to get as large audiences for the more scholarly talks as for those of a more spectacular nature.

A member from Vassar, who reported Friday morning, declared the Chapter in the Fall had studied recent labor struggles. It would take up the more theoretical phases of Socialism this Spring. It was federated with the Civic Club of Vassar for specific purposes.

This Fall meetings of the University of Pittsburgh Chapter, at which Lincoln Steffens, Harry W. Laidler and Dr. Blossom were present were mentioned by L. Piazza. He told of the fight of the college against the appearance of Dr. Blossom, who was scheduled to speak on birth control. Lynn F. Perkins reported for the Syracuse Chapter, recently reorganized. A number of faculty members were favorable, he declared, and prospects for a strong Chapter were excellent.

That the Princeton Chapter had reorganized last Spring with more than 50 members, the largest number that had ever joined an I. S. S. Chapter at this college, was reported by Delegate Chas. T. White. Mr. White asserted, however, that the Chapter had not as yet renewed its activities this Fall.

Gustave Gerber, of Cornell, reported the reorganization of the Cornell Chapter and addresses this fall by Professor Bristow Adams and the Organizing Secretary. Louis Weil told of the formation of the group of 23 in Brooklyn Law School and prophesied that the Brooklyn Law School Chapter would in a short time be one of the best in the I. S. S. group. Messrs. Foster and Nelson, of Howard, told of

the fine impression made this Fall by Florence Kelley and Rose Pastor Stokes, and of the spirit of service and brotherhood which the I. S. S. Chapter was helping to engender in the college. Harry L. Janeway, of Rutgers, told of the good start that the Chapter had already made, in spite of the discrimination against it by some of the faculty members. Minnie Weinheimer, of Hunter College, said that the students were now circulating a petition to permit affiliation with the I. S. S., signed by 120 out of 700 students, and predicted that such affiliation would be permitted during the coming season. Affiliation with the I. S. S. had also been denied at Goucher College, according to Ida Glatt. Mrs. Stokes had spoken there this Fall, and John Spargo was scheduled for the Spring. The agitation for the Chapter would be continued.

The New England Colleges

In the New England colleges, Boris Stern reported for Harvard that the individual members of the Chapter were agitating effectively in the dining-rooms. He said:

"It happens in the Harvard Commons that the students have to wait a long time before they are served. At the end of five minutes they have read the newspapers and have nothing more to do. It is then that the members of the Harvard Chapter who have distributed themselves at different tables get in their good work by beginning a discussion of various phases of Socialism. In this way we are creating a live interest in the subject outside of our regular lectures."

The Boston Theological School was represented by Walter Dugan, who mentioned the good work of Professor Harry Ward and the affiliation of a number of students with the Society during the recent visit of the Organizing Secretary. Hilmar Rauschenbusch, of Amherst, declared that through the agitation and chapel talks of Socialists in Amherst during the last campaign the Socialist presidential candidate received 25 votes in the straw vote held at the college. The report submitted from Berkeley Divinity School stated that all of the students in the school were members of the I. S. S. Chapter and reported good meetings, with Mrs. W. P. Ladd, Harry W. Laidler, Rev.

Howard Melish, Byron-Curtiss and others as speakers. E. Peterson and Alexander Trachtenberg told of the progress of Yale. Mr. Trachtenberg said that it was the Yale idea to concentrate on half a dozen prominent students and to get them intensely interested in the subject. He declared that the organization had finally obtained the approval of President Hadley and was considered one of the foremost student organizations in Yale.

Miss Frankfurter, of Radcliffe, said that the Chapter was a constituent part of the Radcliffe Civic Club. One successful meeting addressed by Harris Crook was held this fall.

An excellent report of activities of Oberlin was given by Devere Allen. Allen told of the novel plan that each member be required to read one book on Socialism during his first year. From 15 to 20 members attended the meetings every two weeks. The Chapter arranged a large meeting for Professor Scott Nearing during the Fall. The society has the ardent co-operation of a number of members of the faculty. That the newly organized Chapter at the University of Missouri has a membership of 42, it is holding weekly meetings and is anticipating procuring the University auditorium of the college for John Spargo in the Spring, was reported by Hildegard Kneeland of the University of Missouri. Paul H. Douglas told of the large faculty membership at the University of Illinois, and declared that the professors were on the whole more progressive than the student body. The Chapter meetings were held bi-weekly. About 150 are present on the average at the public gatherings.

The University of Wisconsin Chapter was represented by Professor Percy W. Dawson. The chapter this Fall is taking up the Rand School course of lectures. The report submitted by the University of Chicago Chapter secretary, Freida Kramer, mentioned as speakers in November and December, Dr. John C. Kennedy and Professor Chester M. Wright. It held numerous semi-social meetings throughout the year.

A. B. Clark, formerly of Reed Col-

lege, was present Friday morning to represent the Pacific Coast Chapter.

This chapter has stirred up considerable interest through its questionnaire on Socialism, sent to the students by Clara Eliot, the secretary. Among the Fall speakers was C. H. Chapman, formerly president of the University of Oregon.

Scott Nearing Lecture

Following the afternoon session the delegates dined and sang at the Rand School and went to the Scott Nearing meeting on "The Germs of War" at the Washington Irving High School, held under the auspices of the Rand School. Dr. Nearing gave a remarkably able address on "The Germs of War."*

The Friday afternoon gathering at the School of Journalism, Columbia University, was the regular "Question Box" session. The questions were answered by John Spargo and Dr. Harry

W. Laidler, Dr. Jessie W. Hughan presided.

The final session was held on Saturday morning at Miss Stokes's studio, and was devoted to discussion of the problems of alumni chapters.

Among those reporting the progress of the alumni chapters at the various sessions were Ida Glatt, who told of the high standard set for the papers in the Baltimore Alumni Chapter; A. Joseph Seltzer of Detroit and J. Kotinsky of Washington, who urged that alumni organizations help the general society financially, and assist in the organization and strengthening of undergraduate Chapters in their respective vicinities. The necessity of research work was also emphasized.

Harry W. Laidler submitted a report of alumni chapter activity. The question of the desirability of holding next year's convention at some other city than New York was also discussed.

H. W. L.

The Young Alumni and the I. S. S.

By Evans Clark

I want to urge all of you men and women to carry the I. S. S. out of college with you when you leave and to establish in your home city or town an alumni chapter.

During the few years I have been out of college I have been impressed with the great difference in function between the undergraduate and the alumni chapter. The college chapter serves to introduce the student to Socialism. But the function of the alumni chapter is not that. It is more a matter of making the acquaintanceship mean something in the life of the young graduate. In my opinion this acquaintanceship, if it is to mean anything, demands the fulfillment of some very specific needs.

First of all, there is the necessity that comes to all of us, and especially to college alumni who are Socialists, for human companionship. I think I speak for most of us who have come out of college branded as radicals when I say

that we have gone back to our old circle of family and friends to find that the circle has developed many unexpected breaks. Many of our friends have drifted away. We have been considered queer. And on our part we have found that we had few points of contact with those with whom in earlier days we had many. Here, then, is the first real need which an alumni chapter can fill. It can create for us a new circle of friends—friends with whom we can be ourselves with sincerity and frankness, and find response. It can, in a word, furnish us sociability.

Then, too, the wisest young graduates are those who feel on the commencement platform that their education has just begun. And here again is a need which an alumni chapter can meet. By means of meetings at which men and women speak who are doing things in the labor and Socialist ranks the alumni can broaden and deepen

*This lecture may be obtained in pamphlet form from the Rand School; price, 10c.

their knowledge of the world. An alumni chapter can furnish education.

Lastly, and I think of the greatest importance to-day, is a need that cries most insistently for satisfaction — the desire to do, and to do effectively. I am continually overwhelmed by the disorganization and ineffectiveness of the radical forces in matters of practical politics and affairs. Here again is the opportunity for the alumni chapter. It can furnish a nucleus and stimulus for other organizations, for raising funds for strikers, for securing pub-

licity for some battle of labor, for exposing some crying industrial abuse, for presenting expert testimony before some legislative investigating committee, for a thousand and one skirmishes in the battle on things as they are. An alumni chapter can be an incubator to hatch out plots in the struggle for human emancipation.

I urge you, one and all, then, to organize alumni chapters when you leave college: first in the name of sociability; second, in the name of education and lastly in the name of liberty itself.

A Further Study of Socialism

By Alexander Trachtenberg

The last convention of the I. S. S. indicated the difficulty of keeping the undergraduate members of the Society continuously interested in its activities throughout the year. During the twelve years of thought-stimulating activity of the I. S. S., the Socialist movement has been permeating various classes of the population, and the present undergraduate is likely to know something about Socialism before entering college. Many of the colleges are now giving courses on Socialism. However, it may be said that a large number of these courses are purely academic or are given by those who are openly combatting the revolutionary social philosophy. Furthermore, only a comparatively few of the students interested in Socialism are able, in most colleges, to fit the course into their other work. It is therefore still essential to continue the work of the I. S. S. in studying in an informal manner the theoretical and practical phases of Socialism and in bringing speakers connected with the movement before the college body.

However, on account of the less dense ignorance concerning Socialism than was seen at the beginning of the Society's career, and in order to help still further to vitalize the chapters it seems to me that we should try to bring those joining the I. S. S. Chapters into closer

touch with the practical side of Socialism, i. e., the Socialist movement.

Surely our aim "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women" means more than explaining to them the theoretical side of Socialism. We must show them Socialism as it is expressed in the organized movement of social protest and constructive effort to mould opinion and influence institutions making for a new world order. The Chapters should encourage their members to frequent meetings of the Socialist locals, watch the work of education and organization of the Party and get acquainted with its membership. During political campaigns, when the work of the Socialist organization is shown in so many different ways from that of the other political parties, it is especially worthy of observance by the students.

Those of the members of the I. S. S. Chapters who are convinced Socialists should take an active part in the local movement and act as guides for those of their fellow students who are earnestly desirous of knowing what the Socialist movement means and stands for. Students who are Socialists will find a fertile field for activity along educational lines among the members of the Party. They can conduct classes in history, economics, so-

ciology and the physical sciences. They can act as supervisors for the Young Socialist Leagues as well as teachers for the Socialist Sunday Schools. They can serve on committees which arrange lectures or prepare leaflets, thus utilizing their education in the service of the movement. They must, however, earn the opportunity to serve the movement. They must come in the spirit of comradeship and willingness to aid, rather than try to impose themselves or their ideas on others. If they come in this spirit, they will be received most cordially and their work will be appreciated. Otherwise, they may be looked upon as outsiders, condescending to help the workers in their struggle for better conditions of life.

The organized Labor movement also offers a great opportunity for the members of the I. S. S. Chapters to learn at first hand the meaning of the class struggle, to understand and appreciate the aspirations and ideals of

the workers as they are found expressed in their movement. The students will greatly benefit by offering their assistance to the workers in time of strikes as well as in helping them during peace to perfect their organizations. Labor organizations are badly in need of surveys of industrial and social conditions among the members, so that they may grapple intelligently with the problems before them.

The extension work done by individual members of the I. S. S. in the Socialist and Labor movements as outlined above, will in no way affect the standing of the Chapters. On the contrary, it will instil a soul and give meaning to our movement, as well as bring forth men and women who, through actual contact with these movements, will really know and understand what Socialism is and what it stands for. This, I believe, was in the mind of the founders of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, and I argue for the full realization of their ideals.

Book Reviews

AMERICA AND THE NEW EPOCH.
By Charles P. Steinmetz. N. Y.: Harper and Brothers. \$1.00 net.

The excitement that Steinmetz's book will create among American Socialists will be a measure of the intellectual vitality that is left in the Socialist organism. The ideas are not only novel but they contain the germs of almost everything that the Socialist to-day should be speculating and planning about. And they come from a man who should be the American Socialist's very best card. Steinmetz is a biological "sport" in the traditional ranks of discontent. He is neither an idealistic dreamer, nor a hard intellectualist nor an embittered agitator, nor an oppressed proletarian. On the contrary, his whole career follows the line of the most orthodox and individualistic bourgeois. An immigrant, landing in New York with ten dollars and no job, unable even to speak English, he has become an engineer and scientist of world-wide fame, and a dominating fac-

tor in the development and management of one of our largest and most successful industrial corporations. He represents the apotheosis of technical and administrative success, the success of the self-made man. Steinmetz is the type that above all the American millions are supposed to delight to honor.

And he is a Socialist. One should never grow weary of dinning into the ears of our middle classes that American Socialism has a leader who has beaten them all around at their own game, a Socialist who can do all their peculiarly enterprising, organizing, administrative, technical jobs, better than most of their magnates can do them, and can do them better, as this book shows, exactly because he is a Socialist. Yet although Steinmetz has long been a member of the Party and even one of their elected municipal officials in Schenectady, I cannot see that he has anything like the fame and influence which should have come to him. Certainly there is some deep, ineradic-

able vice in present-day American Socialism when such a book as "America and the New Epoch" does not create more of a furore in the ranks. It may be because the political aspect has so much overshadowed the technical and intellectual aspect of Socialism in this country; it may be that American Socialists will be genuinely scandalized at the revolutionary and subversive ideas which Steinmetz utters with such unemotional conviction; or it may be a proletarian distrust of success. But whatever the cause, one almost despairs of a movement that does not use and even flaunt its Steinmetzes.

Steinmetz might be called a "corporation syndicalist." He looks for Socialism through the formation of "one big union," but that union is to be one of corporations rather than wage-earners. Instead of having labor assume democratic control of the industrial corporation, he would have the corporation become a flexible technical instrument of production, in which managers and producers co-operated for economic and social ends. Instead of "letting the nation own the trusts," he would let the trusts own the nation. Only the trusts would first have become the industrial nation itself. Steinmetz says that this industrial state is actually in process of formation, that it is irresistible, and should be, for it is the most efficient type of organization that the modern world has evolved. No political type of organization can possibly compete with it. Political control of industry is an exploded archaism. Moreover the corporation is a stable type of organization, combining the greatest measure of administrative efficiency with the least measure of suppression of individual freedom. The most highly evolved corporations, he thinks, are solving that clinching dilemma in which we always find ourselves—the problem of securing expert administration without loss of democratic values, and of retaining government "of the people and by the people," without running the risk of seeing such a government turn out to be "for" any other interests but "the people." Experts and permanence of tenure are absolutely essential to effective administration. Democratic election can

never insure either. The modern industrial corporation is the only organization that is not impaled on the other horn of the dilemma—appointment—that is, by arbitrary power. For the corporation is not a bureaucracy. Officials are not elected from below, but neither are they appointed from above. They are in large measure self-appointed. They gravitate irresistibly to their place. They have developed their own work, they have made their job what it is, and their appointment is merely a recognition of the indispensable place they are occupying in the technical organization of the business. The right man is in the right place because his interest and skill and insight have made him one with the job. You thus conserve initiative and you abolish drudgery. And you retain equal opportunity, for initiative is free to all. Organization thus becomes not anything rigid, arbitrary, controlled, as in our present industrial system, but a co-operative work of experimentation and invention.

Steinmetz insists that this type of organization is evolving under the irresistible economic pressure of to-day. It must supersede both the democratic-political type of organization and the military-industrial. Social organization must proceed along the lines of the industrial corporation. He sees a dual government in which an industrial state shall do all the positive, administrative, constructive work of society, while a political state, operated democratically, shall reserve a referendum power on general policy and an inhibitory power over the acts of the industrial government. This dualism, he believes, will conserve all that is best in both democracy and administration by experts. His plausible analogy is with the Roman Republic, where the tribunals of the people had the veto power over the acts of the non-elective administration.

The lesson for America is plain. State Socialism or State capitalism is an accomplished fact in Europe. Both are less desirable and effective than this corporation syndicalism which Steinmetz outlines. But in any national competition both will be fatal to the chaotic America in which we live.

Steinmetz does not absolutely deny that we might reach a desirable Socialism through our present democratic efforts at political and social reconstruction. But he thinks that destiny will not give us time. While we were working it out, we should be crushed. We must therefore either accept this corporation Socialism, or watch our country become a second Mexico of plantations, mines and factories, owned, controlled, exploited by foreign capital. We are entering a new epoch, and only Socialism can save us.

This book of Steinmetz's is the most fertile and suggestive Socialist contribution that I have ever seen come out of the problems of the war. The corporation may be idealized, the outlook may be over-simplified, but I think there can be no doubt that these conceptions have the force of inventive and realistic insight in them. The questions that Steinmetz poses for us are just the ones that we all ought to be discussing and quarreling about. If this book does not prove epoch-making for a new epoch, it will imply that American Socialism has become intellectually reactionary, given over to party politics and to the decaying philosophy of nineteenth-century liberalism.

RANDOLPH BOURNE.

SOME HELPFUL BOOKS ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Reviewed by Jessie Wallace Hughan.

Seymour's *Diplomatic Background of the War* is a clear and understanding account of European international relations from 1871 to 1914. Professor Seymour is neither pacifist nor militarist, neither pro-German nor aggressively pro-Ally. Through the mysteries of the Triple and Dual Alliances, the world policies of England and Germany, the diplomatic revolution of the last decade, and the tangle of the Balkans, he traces without explicitly naming them the causes of the Great War—mutual fear among the powers, mutual struggle for the possession of the undeveloped world.

The Diplomacy of the Great War, by Arthur Bullard, covers the same ground in a very different manner. Only the first half of the book is his-

torical; the latter portion includes an analysis of the new factors in diplomacy and a forecast of solutions to come after the war. The style is American, radical and often refreshingly irreverent. The author hazards without hesitation his own interpretation of diplomatic secrets, and contributes valuable suggestions for a peace policy on the part of the United States.

Towards International Government is the contribution of John A. Hobson to the durable peace. Beginning with concrete question of reduction of armaments, he makes this consummation dependent upon a League of Peace, which must in its turn reach complete development only in an International Government. In view of the recent proposals of President Wilson, Hobson's book will prove especially helpful.

Imperialism, by the same author, is not a "war book," but a publication of 1905. The title is more fraught with meaning to us now, however, than twelve years ago, and, in the midst of our frenzied discussions of the acute disease which is afflicting the powers, it is well to turn to this calm ante bellum diagnosis of the chronic malady. There is light thrown also upon our American problems of Imperialism, the Philippines and the Monroe Doctrine, for Britain's experience, to Hobson a disastrous one, may here be our teacher.

Modern Germany is an American translation of *Deutschland und der Weltkrieg*, published in Germany in 1915. It contains more than twenty essays by university professors upon various phases of the war. It is but fair to ask the Germans themselves, as well as their enemies, as to the ideals behind their militarism and their Kultur, and as to the reasons which seemed to them sufficient for such a proceeding as the invasion of Belgium. It is a little startling to us Americans, by the way, and perhaps thought-provoking as well, to note that Professor Schoenborn, the defender of the above-named invasion, is the author also of *The Occupation of Vera Cruz, with an Appendix: Documents Concerning the*

Policy of President Wilson towards Mexico.

Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory, by George Nasmyth, is a reinterpretation of Darwin's theory of society in order to show the falsity of the philosophy of force as a deduction from Darwinism. The argument is clear and forceful, following chiefly the work of Kropotkin and Novicow. To those of us, however, who have listened to Dr. Nasmyth's brilliant lectures upon the concrete issues of war and peace, it is a little disappointing that his abilities are here spent so largely upon the theories of a generation that is past.

Edward Krehbiel's *Nationalism, War and Society* is an elaborate analysis in outline form of the interactions of the three forces indicated by the title. The book is distinctly pacifist, though not politically non-resistant, and frequently presents clever pleading under the guise of cold exposition. On the other hand, there is such a multiplicity of dry detail that the book must find its usefulness chiefly for occasional reference. Not the least valuable feature of this volume, as well as Doctor Nasmyth's, is one of the brilliant prefaces which Norman Angell scatters so lavishly among his pacifist co-workers.

Among so many illuminating books by less-known men, there is a little disappointment in reading *Problems of Readjustment After the War*, a collection of essays by recognized American authorities. Giddings's argument against the dysgenetic character of war does not seem up to his own standard. Seligman, moreover, whose recognition of the Economic Interpretation of History has gone so far to make Socialism academically respectable, appears here to be totally ignorant of that same economic interpretation as applied by modern Socialists to the causes of war.

The Monroe Doctrine, by Wm. I. Hull; *The Stakes of Diplomacy*, by Walter Lippmann, both go far beyond surface diplomacy to the permanent bone of contention, the control of backward and undeveloped countries. Hull foreshadows President Wilson's proposal of an international Monroe Doctrine, making The Hague Court the machinery for its application. Lipp-

mann, on the other hand, finds serious obstacles in the way of both arbitration and The League of Peace, advocating instead permanent international commissions to deal with the places "where world crises originate."

Louis Boudin gives in *Socialism and War* both the time-honored Marxian causes of war and a careful analysis of the present conflict from the Socialist point of view. An important contribution to economic interpretation is his tracing of the roots of modern Imperialism to the supplanting of textiles by iron and steel as the leading industry of the exploiting powers. *The Socialists and the War*, edited by Wm. English Walling, at the suggestion of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, presents a mine of information on the attitude of the Socialists throughout the world on the present war and on war in general.

Two out-and-out pacifist books are *New Wars for Old*, by John Haynes Holmes, and *Justice in War Time*, by Bertrand Russell. As the former was reviewed at length in the last INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST, we pause only to remind the college reader of its thorough-going non-resistant policy. Russell, while not quite in the Conscientious Objector class, yet furnishes in his chapter on "War and Non-Resistance" a brilliant reply to the oft-repeated question, "What would you do if the Germans should invade the country?" As we follow the finished logic and widely-based conclusions of Mr. Russell, and then as we glance back over our list of American volumes, we realize with a sense of inexperience that Europe is older and wiser than we, not only in her Imperialism, but in her Pacifism as well.

[The foregoing books and others may be purchased from the I. S. S. Book Store.]

A Year of Progress in the Intercollegiate Socialist Society

Report by Harry W. Laidler

The work of the Society during the year 1916 was distinguished chiefly by its opening up of the conservative South to the message of Socialism, the remarkable extension of its research work, the publication of new litera-

ture, and the establishment of a students' council.

Following the suggestion made at the 1916 Convention that a special effort be made to visit the South, the Organizing Secretary conducted a trip among the Southern colleges in the Spring, addressing 6,000 students in 21 colleges, speaking before nine college bodies, in two dozen class rooms, and organizing chapters at the Universities of Virginia, North and South Carolina, East and Middle Tennessee Normal, Emory and Henry, and Washington-Lee. In 18 out of the 21 colleges visited this was in all probability the first time that a Socialist had addressed the students of these staid old institutions. While the spirit of cordiality among a number of the colleges was marked, in some it was impossible to schedule meetings. Mrs. Stokes followed in December and spoke in 11 colleges before 3,000 students and 4,000 townspeople at Goucher, Howard, Randolph-Macon, Richmond, University of North Carolina, Salem, Wofford, at the University of South Carolina, Benedict, Atlanta, and addressed a number of groups in Atlanta, Ga. After her four days' visit at the University of North Carolina, Dean Raper of the Graduate School wrote that during the sixteen years he had been at that institution, no one had made so fine an impression on the thought life of the university as had Mrs. Stokes. Professor Morse of the University of South Carolina writes: "The whole city was charmed. Mrs. Stokes cannot come to Columbia too often or stay too long." In one day in five meetings she performed the herculean task of speaking for no less than ten hours to delighted audiences.

During the Spring, Mrs. Stokes toured the Middle West, addressing more than 4,000 students in the colleges of Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Missouri, and in the Summer did excellent work at Dartmouth and Cornell.

Mr. Spargo has spoken before 14 colleges in New England and New York, addressing some 4,800 students. Over 1,000 attended a thrilling debate, participated in by Mr. Spargo on the subject of "Preparedness" at Princeton University. Wherever he went he made a profound impression and gained many friends for the Society.

The Organizing Secretary visited throughout the year 52 colleges, addressed about 10,000 students and several thousand townspeople, spoke before 49 classes and 10 college bodies.

In every trip, the speakers addressed thousands of townspeople, and obtained remarkably good newspaper publicity which helped to educate the general public as well as the colleges in the real meaning of Socialism.

Among others who have spoken under the auspices of the Society during the past year have been Scott Nearing, Lincoln Steffens, Morris Hillquit, Eugene V. Debs, Florence Kelley, Jessie W. Hughan, William English Walling, Mayor Thomas Van Lear, Mayor Dan Hoan, Carl D. Thompson, Upton Sinclair, Charles Edward Russell, Frank Harris, Rev. J. Howard Melish, Professor Wm. B. Guthrie, Juliet S. Poyntz, George E. O'Dell, Robert

Minor, Wm. Francis Barnard, M. Applebaum, Wm. Fitzgerald, James R. Brown, Bouck White, Arthur Morrow Lewis, George R. Wallace, Byron C. Mathews, Professor H. Z. Kidd, R. H. Johnson, A. W. Goodenough, J. W. Hamilton, E. G. Cox, Chester M. Wright, John Haynes Holmes, James P. Thompson, C. H. Chapman, Wm. S. Uren, R. S. McCrillis, J. Koettgen, Rev. A. L. Byron Curtiss, Mrs. W. P. Ladd, etc.

In spite of these numerous lectures the Society has been unable to send speakers as regularly as it desires, and one of its big needs is the opportunity to finance good speakers who have sufficient publicity points to draw out large audiences at the various colleges.

The field work for the coming year promises splendid results. John Spargo is planning a three months' trip to the Pacific Coast and the meetings already booked indicate one of the most successful trips ever arranged by the I. S. S. We have been fortunate in securing Irwin St. John Tucker, a graduate of General Theological Seminary, former editor of the *Christian Socialist*, and a clear and eloquent speaker, as organizer for the Middle West. Mr. Tucker will have headquarters in Chicago, 803 W. Madison Street. He will make an extensive trip through Illinois, Minnesota and Michigan next Spring.

Harry W. Laidler is planning a trip from the middle of February to about the first part of April, especially in the Ohio and Indiana colleges. Gardner L. Harding, author of "Present Day China," is being billed under the auspices of the New England Committee in a number of colleges in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Carl Haessler, instructor of philosophy in the University of Illinois, has expressed his willingness to fill a number of dates in the colleges of Illinois. Other speakers have signified their availability as lecturers.

The year has seen a very encouraging development in research work of the Society. In connection with *The Intercollegiate Socialist*, two pamphlets have been published, one by Wm. English Walling on "Inheritance and Income Taxes in the United States," and one by Evans Clark on "Municipal Ownership in the United States." These are of a high order and give valuable information. Cheves West Perky is preparing a pamphlet on "Co-operation in the United States." Evelyn Salzman and Dr. Louis Berman are preparing pamphlets on public health, and others are well under way.

"The Socialism of To-day," the Society's first book, has just been published by Holt & Company. This is the first source book on international Socialism of a comprehensive character ever issued and gives a wonderful idea of the whole vitality of the movement. It has been very favorably reviewed by many authoritative sources and should be used as a reference book by all of the Chapters. The Society also suggested the compilation of "Socialism and the War," edited by William English Walling and published in 1915. It is now preparing a book on State Socialism or

Collectivism, giving the best articles that have thus far appeared on the tendencies toward public ownership in the world to-day. This ought to be an extremely useful compilation.

During the past year also we have published a number of excellent leaflets, including the "Study Course in Socialism," "The Great Lesson of War," by Edwin Schoonmaker, and "Why Study Socialism?" which consists of 50 to 60 brilliant paragraphs on the subject, by well-known writers, publicists and economists. *The Intercollegiate Socialist* has been enlarged and its price advanced to 50c. An endeavor has been made to get more material about interesting events occurring in the Chapters and also to publish in it the best speeches and discussions at the summer conference, the winter convention, New York Chapter meetings. Any suggestions regarding further improvement will be deeply appreciated.

This year a Students' Council has been established and a number of students have already been appointed.

The summer conference has been continued. It was held last fall at Sherwood Forest, near Baltimore, a beautiful spot on the banks of the Severn, and all those who attended considered it a real inspiration. The conference has been the means of giving splendid publicity to the whole movement from year to year. The probabilities are that the next one will be held at Bellport, L. I. The date has not as yet been definitely decided.

Several Chapters have tried interesting experiments during the year. Those that have combined social events, such as soirees or hikes, with their discussion of Socialism, among them C. C. N. Y. and La Crosse, have reported these as eminently successful. A number of the Chapters, including the Universities of Illinois and of Pittsburgh, have obtained a larger membership through inducing the editors of the college papers to write special editorials in favor of their Chapters. Rutgers has tried an interesting plan of sending a printed letter to all members of the undergraduate body, explaining its ideals and purpose.

The La Crosse Chapter induced the management to publish a special issue of the college paper devoted entirely to the aims and activities of the I. S. S. and the La Crosse Chapter. The issuing of a questionnaire on Socialism by the Reed College Chapter has stirred up considerable interest. A circulating library of Socialist books has been commended in a number of quarters.

A number of additional Chapters were organized during the year. In the spring Chapters were formed in the following colleges: Adelphi (reorganized), Beloit, Dartmouth, Trinity, Rutgers, University of Virginia, North and South Carolina, East Tennessee Normal, Middle Tennessee Normal, Emory and Henry, and Washington-Lee. In the fall Chapters were organized at Brooklyn Law, Boston University Theologue, and reorganized at Cornell, Rochester, Syracuse, at the University of Missouri, etc. On the other hand, a number of Chapters seem to have become inactive dur-

ing the year. Wellesley is now petitioning for an I. S. S. Chapter, as is also Hunter College, and several promises of organization have been received. At Goucher, I. S. S. affiliation has recently been refused, but a further petition will undoubtedly be made.

To sum up, 64 Chapters have reported activity during the past year; 42 of these have been heard from since the opening of the present college year. The undergraduate membership is approximately 1,200. The Chapters reported made by the C. C. N. Y. Chapter for recognition. Princeton has paid up a membership of 47; Barnard, the University of Missouri and Valparaiso, 40; Radcliffe and Syracuse, 35. The University of Michigan Chapter promises soon to return to its old place in the van of I. S. S. Chapters. There are four Chapters, therefore, with a membership of 50 or over; 9, with from 25 to 50; 22, with 10 to 25, and 28, under 10. Besides those mentioned, Illinois, Oberlin, University of Pittsburgh, and Berkeley Divinity may be cited as among the particularly active Chapters. Berkeley Divinity leads this year again with a 100 per cent. membership, every one of the 23 students being members. The faculty membership in the University of Illinois Chapter exceeds that of any of our affiliated bodies.

In the Chapters reporting, about one-half of the membership is composed of Socialists, and about one-half of non-Socialists; in 6 the majority of the members were Socialists; in 6, the majority non-Socialists, and in 2 the Socialist and non-Socialist element ran neck to neck. Those Chapters having the largest proportion of Socialists are Valparaiso, where, as far as known, the entire 40 are Socialists; Barnard, with 8-9 of the members Socialists; C. C. N. Y., with 5-6; Adelphi, Rutgers and Wisconsin, with large majorities. In Vassar, where last year's secretary interpreted a Socialist as one who was a member of the Socialist Party, out of 80, there is only one definitely mentioned as a Socialist, 75 are non-Socialists, and 4 anti-Socialists. In Yale there are only three or four avowed Socialists in the membership. In Berkeley Divinity, Oberlin, University of Pittsburgh and Reed College Chapters, there is also a preponderance of non-Socialists, and in Columbia and Radcliffe the two elements about equal each other. Only about 1-20 of those reporting were mentioned as anti-Socialists.

Among the needs of the Chapters cited in the questionnaire are speakers who are qualified to present Socialist beliefs clearly and directly, so as to appeal to non-Socialists, good anti-Socialist speakers, more enthusiastic discussion, money, meeting rooms, and recognition by the college authorities.

Seven of the Chapters reported two meetings a month; 4, one meeting a month, and 4, three or four meetings a month. The attendance at the study meetings was mentioned as between 10 and 50, C. C. N. Y. and Valparaiso having the largest study gatherings, while Berkeley, Reed, Barnard, Oberlin, Pittsburgh and Vassar made good showings. C. C. N. Y., University of Pittsburgh and Ohio

State reported the largest attendance at the public meetings.

Most of the Chapters, it is regretted, do not conduct regular discussion meetings, but are too likely to depend for the inspiration upon occasional outside speakers. So many vital problems of a Socialistic nature are now attracting the attention of the world that Chapters should have no difficulty in arranging tremendously interesting meetings. Some of the Chapters report that they are using as a text book, Jessie W. Hughan's "Facts of Socialism," which is now in 25c edition, and which should be widely used by Chapters. Others are discussing questions of the day from the Socialist viewpoint, or such problems as war, ethics, the woman's question, Socialist Party controversies, and such books as H. G. Wells's "New Worlds for Old."

During the last year or two we have furthermore established points of contact with instructors and professors in large numbers of universities and we are practically assured of meetings in economics classes and before college bodies, whenever we can bill well-known speakers in their institutions. More and more we are obtaining requests for literature from members of the faculties and from other bodies. The Society is becoming a recognized factor in the educational field.

The Society has this year lost one of its very good friends and one of its first undergraduate workers in the death of Inez Milholland Boissevain. Mrs. Boissevain, as an undergraduate at Vassar, organized a strong Vassar study group and has ever since been interested in the work of the Society. Her great devotion for the cause of suffrage led her in recent years to spend most of her energy in that work, but she was hoping to give more time to the big social and economic problem when her work in the suffrage field neared completion. Her death is a great loss to the whole radical movement.

The literary and radical world lost a big factor in the death of Jack London, the first president of the Society. Mr. London, during the first year, spoke under our auspices at the Universities of California, Harvard, Yale and elsewhere, and gave life and inspiration to the work in its pioneer stage.

Next year's work promises to be the most vital that the Society has ever undertaken. College students and educated people generally in the U. S. are forced to consider the problem of Socialism more seriously than ever before. The war in Europe, with its remarkable amount of State Socialism, is showing the greater efficiency of collective activity over individual effort. It is indicating that the necessities of life in time of crises cannot be left to private profit. It is bringing home to people the desirability of more democracy in government and industry and the disastrous consequences of leaving the credit system of the country in the hands of private individuals, who, in their desire to exploit undeveloped countries, bring almost irresistible pressure upon their respective governments to enter upon an imperialistic policy.

The growing concentration of wealth in the U. S., the rapidly increasing cost of living, the necessity for more collective action here in our struggle for existence among the nations of the world, the realization of the enormous wastes of the present competitive system, the strikes and threatened strikes, the agitation for the eight-hour law, the minimum wage, arbitration in labor disputes, the appointment of the congressional committee to inquire into the public ownership of railroads, the continuance of abject poverty, in spite of enormously increased productivity, all are turning the attention of the American people toward the question of industrial democracy.

If the I. S. S. Chapters in the colleges can but realize their opportunities, the movement is bound to grow by leaps and bounds during the coming year. It is the sincere hope of the Society that the students of the Chapters, as soon as they get back to their colleges, may begin an aggressive campaign for membership, plan vital intimate discussion meetings and debates, make their public meetings the center of student thought and do everything possible to help to strengthen their particular club and the Society at large, and that, when they graduate, they may join as alumni chapters and assist materially in the extension of the work.

Lecture Trips

On January 11th Mr. Spargo began a three months' trip to the Pacific Coast under I. S. S. auspices. His itinerary thus far is:

January:

11th, Princeton University, auspices I. S. S. Chapter; 14th, Baltimore, Open Forum; 15th, Goucher College, Equal Suffrage and Social Service Leagues; 16th, Howard University, I. S. S. Chapter, Public Library, Washington, Socialist Local; 18th, Washington and Lee, Economics Department; 19th, Virginia Polytechnic, College; 21st, Lynchburg, Unitarian Church; 22d, Guilford, State Normal School, near Greensboro, N. C., College; 23d, Winston Salem, Socialist Local; 25th, University of South Carolina, I. S. S. Chapter; 27th to 29th, Various meetings before Socialist and non-Socialist bodies at Atlanta, Ga.; 31st, St. Louis, Mo., United Hebrew Congregation Fellowship.

February:

1st, St. Louis, Town Club; 2d, St. Louis, Socialist Local; 3d, University of Missouri, I. S. S. Chapter; 4th, Kansas City, Westminster Congregational Club; 5th, Kansas City, International Radical Club; 6th, Kansas City Study Club of University of Kansas, University; 7th, Southwestern College, College; 9th, Kansas State Agricultural College, College; 11th to 13th, Denver; 14th and 15th, University of Colorado, Economics Department; 16th, Colorado College, Economics Department; 17th to 19th, Salt Lake City; 21st to 28th, Los Angeles, Friday Club, I. S. S. Chapter, etc.

The remainder of the trip will take Mr. Spargo to San Francisco, through Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota,

Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and New York. He will return to New York about the middle of April. A special effort is being made to organize a sectional conference in Chicago during his stay. The trip promises to be the most extensive and important that has ever been arranged by the Society.

Reports have come to the office already of remarkably successful meetings, with attendance varying from 150 to 750 at Princeton, Goucher, Howard, Washington and Lee, Virginia Polytechnic, Guilford, North Carolina State Normal, and five gatherings before the citizens of Baltimore, Washington, Lynchburg, etc.

Harry W. Laidler, Organizing Secretary, will begin a Middle Western trip on Feb. 19th, stopping at a few places in New York and addressing numerous colleges in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, returning by way of Michigan. The trip will last until about April 1st. During April Dr. Laidler hopes to tour some of the New England colleges, including those of Maine.

Irwin Tucker, Organizer in the Middle West, is planning to tour the colleges of Illinois and Wisconsin beginning the middle of February. He also hopes to touch some of the Michigan colleges in April.

Gardner L. Harding spoke during January on "Oriental Democracy," "American Foreign Policy in the Far East" and similar subjects before the student bodies of the following colleges: Harvard, Yale, Smith, Amherst, Brown, Clark, American International (Springfield), Wesleyan, Massachusetts Agricultural, M. I. T., and Simmons, as well as, while in New York, at Rutgers, Columbia and C. C. N. Y.

His trip was unusually successful, especially in the wide notice given to it in the New England press. Several papers, besides news accounts, carried Sunday feature stories, in which the work of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society was prominently mentioned.

Mr. Harding found most of the college Chapters vigorous and wide-awake, the only disappointing meeting of his trip being one in which Socialists had nothing to do, a sepulchral affair in which an exhibition of fancy billiard shots downstairs monopolized the audience from what was supposed to be a regular union lecture of the Brown Y. M. C. A. In contrast, the meetings at Amherst, organized by Manager Copeland of the football team, who is also president of the local Socialist Chapter, and Secretary Benneyan, were most enlivening, and ended with an invitation from President Meiklejohn to speak before the whole college body at chapel.

At Smith, Mr. Harding found an audience of several hundred, mostly juniors and seniors, completely filling Graham Hall, brought together under the auspices of Prof. Emerick of the Economics Department. At Harvard, besides speaking before "Copey's" famous class in English composition, of which he was once a member, Mr. Harding addressed a large meeting in the Social Ethics Lecture Room in Emerson Hall, which included nineteen Chinese students. The Simmons meeting was also a

big one, completely filling one of the two assembly rooms in the Administration Building. At the American International College of Springfield, under the chairmanship of Professor Bowden, a special meeting was attended by most of the student body. This unique institution, an immigrants' Northfield, containing students of more than 20 nationalities, has had until recently a strong Socialist chapter. Here, as well as at Simmons, Wesleyan, and Massachusetts Agricultural College, where Professor Sprague invited Mr. Harding especially over to address his economics class, the re-chartering of lapsed chapters is in prospect.

The Boston Graduate Chapter of the I. S. S. took advantage of Mr. Harding's trip to hold a dinner at the Hotel Westminster on January 13, at which he was the principal speaker. On the Sunday following, he addressed the Stoughton Forum, under the auspices of the Open Forum Speakers' Bureau.

We are greatly indebted to Mr. Sun Fo, at Columbia, son of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen; to Mr. T. V. Soong, editor of the Chinese Students' Monthly, and to Mr. V. P. Chiu, of Harvard, for the cordial reception accorded to Mr. Harding by the Chinese students, who turned out en masse at every college which he visited.

College Notes

NEW ENGLAND

Irwin Tucker addressed a college meeting at Wesleyan University on Jan. 8th at the Psi Upsilon fraternity on the problem of the hobo. A large and enthusiastic group from Wesleyan and Berkeley Divinity School attended the meeting. Following the lecture he met with a number of students from the Berkeley Divinity School at the home of Professor Ladd.

MIDDLE WEST

The subject of "Socialism: An American Ideal," was discussed by Irwin Tucker at the University of Indiana on Monday evening, Jan. 15th.

The thriving Valparaiso Chapter reports a good meeting with about 200 present, addressed by Carl D. Thompson on "Christ and the Workingman," on Jan. 6th. A week before Mr. Tilton spoke on the "War in Europe," and on Jan. 7 Professor Black of the University addressed the study class on the "Martyrs of the Truth in Science of Astronomy." The Chapter declares that the study class is growing and promises to have more and more weight in the University life.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

Miss Helen Phelps Stokes delivered a thought-compelling address on "The Significance of Socialism" before the Vassar Chapter of the I. S. S. on Jan. 15th. Senator La Fontaine addressed an audience of between five and six hundred on the subject of "Internationalism" at C. C. N. Y. under the auspices of the I. S. S. Chapter.

Mr. Tucker also spoke on "The Ethical Phase of Socialism" at the meeting of the

Union Theological Seminary. Dr. Laidler will speak before the Chapter here on Feb. 2nd.

ALUMNI

The New York Alumni Chapter held two intensely interesting January meetings. Gardner L. Harding, author of "Present Day China;" Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen; Mr. Katayama, a Japanese Socialist, and others, dealt with the question of the struggle for democracy in China on Jan. 3rd. On Jan. 8th Louis B. Boudin addressed the Chapter on the Monroe Doctrine. The remainder of the year's program is tentatively:

Thursday, Feb. 8th—"What Should Be the Next Steps in Municipal Ownership?" Speaker, Evans Clark. Chairman, Alex. Trachtenberg.

Wednesday, Feb. 21st—"The Eight-Hour Day." Speakers, Florence Kelley, Joseph D. Cannon. Chairman, Mary R. Sanford.

Thursday, March 8th—"A Sane Immigration Policy for the United States." Speaker, Dr. Frederic C. Howe.

Wednesday, March 21st—"New Weapons Used in the Battle Against Labor." Speakers, John A. Fitch, Dante Barton, Chester Wright. Chairman, Dr. James P. Warbasse.

Thursday, April 5th—"Compulsory Arbitration in Labor Disputes." Speakers, Robert W. Bruere, Paul Kennaday, Ralph M. Easley (probably).

Wednesday, April 18th—"Our Prison System and the Labor Problem." Speakers, Dr. George W. Kirchwey and Spencer Miller.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Studies in Democracy. By Julia H. Gulliver. N. Y.: Putnam, \$1.00.

Poverty the Challenge to the Church. By John Simpson Penman. N. Y.: The Pilgrim Press, \$1.00.

Socialist Classics. Edited by W. J. Ghent. Girard, Kan.: Appeal to Reason, 10c. each.

Present Day China. By Gardner L. Harding, N. Y.: Century, \$1.00.

The Woman Who Wouldn't. By Rose Pastor Stokes. A play in four acts. N. Y.: Putnam's, \$1.25.

Henry Ford's Own Story. By Rose Wilder Lane. Forest Hills, N. Y.: Ellis O. Jones, \$1.00.

The Social Teachings of the Jewish Prophets. By William B. Bizzell. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., \$1.25.

The Golden Blight. By George Allan England. N. Y.: H. K. Fly Company, \$1.35.

Syndicalism. By J. Ramsay Macdonald. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company.

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Facts of Socialism. By Jessie W. Hughan, Ph.D. Clear, concise exposition of the theory and practice of Socialism written especially for use in I. S. S. Study Chapters. Paper edition, 25c.; cloth edition, 75c.

The Truth About Socialism. By Allan L. Benson. A trenchant argument for Socialism by one of America's foremost pamphleteers and Socialists.

Socialism Summed Up. By Morris Hillquit. A concise survey for busy people of the more practical phases of the Socialist movement.

STANDARD 50c. LIBRARY

New Worlds for Old. By H. G. Wells. An analysis of the true import of Socialism written in the same brilliant style which characterizes Wells's other writings.

The American Labor Year Book, 1916. By the Department of Labor Research of the Rand School of Social Science. Gives innumerable statistics regarding the Socialist and labor movements here and abroad and expert analysis of social conditions.

Socialism and Superior Brains. By Bernard Shaw. A telling answer by the famous dramatist and Socialist to Mallock's contention that Socialism will stifle the incentive.

Social Revolution. By Karl Kautsky. A lucid statement by the foremost Socialist theorist of Europe of the meaning of the proletarian struggle and of the probable outlines of the Socialist Republic. Every student of Socialism should possess this book.

Christianity and the Social Crisis. By Walter Rauschenbusch. A powerful presentation of the anti-social and anti-ethical present-day society and a vigorous call of Christians to social justice.

Socialism As It Is. By William English Walling. A critical analysis of the position of the Socialist movement throughout the world on the land question, labor, social reform, compulsory arbitration and other problems. An attempt to understand the movement by its acts.

Socialists at Work. By Robert Hunter. Contains a number of remarkably vivid sketches of leading personalities in the European Socialist movement, as well as an account of the activities of the various parties.

A Preface to Politics. By Walter Lippmann. An attempt by one of the most promising of the younger writers of the day to induce the average American to think deeper than present-day political catchwords.

TEN-CENT CLASSICS

Socialism Summed Up. By Morris Hillquit. A concise survey for busy people of the more practical phases of the Socialist movement. (Recently Revised.)

Merrie England. By Robert Blatchford. A pamphlet which has gone into millions of copies. A powerful argument addressed to the man on the street as to why the present system should be superseded.

The Communist Manifesto. By Karl Marx and Frederic Engels. The first statement of so-called scientific Socialism ever issued. Published in 1848. A brilliantly written Socialist classic with which all students of the movement should be familiar.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Frederic Engels. Next to the Communist Manifesto, the most famous Socialist classic ever published. Indispensable to a knowledge of the evolution of Socialist thought.

A CHOICE GROUP OF SOCIALIST BOOKS

Applied Socialism. By John Spargo. \$1.25. The clearest and most logical statement yet written by an American Socialist regarding the probable working out of the co-operative system.

American Socialism of the Present Day. By Jessie W. Hughan, Ph.D. \$1.25. A scholarly analysis of current views of American Socialists on practical and theoretical phases of Socialism.

Income. By Scott Nearing. \$1.25. A fundamental criticism of the present system of industry. The present distribution of wealth is here graphically presented.

Fabian Essays. By Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, etc. \$1.25. A brilliant series of essays dealing with the development of capitalism and the promise of Socialism, written from the viewpoint of the unorthodox Fabian Society schools of thought.

Socialism—A Promise or Menace? By Morris Hillquit and Dr. John A. Ryan. \$1.50. An extraordinarily able debate on the *pros* and *cons* of Socialism by prominent protagonists of each point of view.

The Elements of Socialism. By John Spargo and Dr. Geo. L. B. Arner. \$1.50. A college text-book on Socialism covering all phases of the movement in a systematic and scholarly fashion. The most comprehensive text-book yet written on the subject.

Syndicalism in France. By Dr. Louis Levine. 1.50 (paper), \$2.00 (cloth). Generally considered the most scholarly and impartial presentation of the subject in English.

Progressivism and After. By William English Walling. \$1.50. Gives an intensely interesting account of the collectivist developments in modern society and forecasts future tendencies. A real contribution to social thought.

Violence and the Labor Movement. By Robert Hunter. \$1.50. A dramatic portrayal of the place of violence in the labor movement and of the long conflict between Socialism and Anarchism.

Socialism and Character. By Prof. Vida D. Scudder. \$1.50. A finely reasoned attempt by a master English stylist to show the possible development of the ethical and spiritual in man under Socialism.

The Collectivist State in the Making. By Emil Davies. \$2.00. The most comprehensive attempt thus far made to show the tendencies toward governmental activity in industry in the various countries of the world. A startling disclosure of the drift away from individualism toward collectivism.

Boycotts and the Labor Struggle. \$2.00. By Dr. Harry W. Laidler. An analysis not only of the economic and legal aspects of boycotts, but also of the entire labor struggle in America, with its blacklists, "spy" systems, etc. The law of conspiracy in state and nation is elaborately set forth.

The Cry for Justice. An anthology of Social Protest. Edited by Upton Sinclair. \$2.00. A remarkable collection of burning messages in prose and poetry that have kindled the fires of social protest throughout the ages.

History of Socialism. By Thomas Kirkup. Revised by Edward Pease. \$2.00. The standard history of this movement from the days of Utopian Socialism to the outbreak of the European War.

Socialism: A Critical Analysis. By Prof. O. D. Skelton. \$1.00. Probably the most scholarly attempt to refute Socialism thus far made.

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"Municipal Ownership in the U. S.," (32 pp.) by *Evans Clark*, 1 for 10c.; 15 for \$1.00.

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